

MEMORANDUM

DECLASSIFIED
PA/HO, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
Date: 6-30-05

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

March 17, 1972

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~~EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: HAK/HAIG
FROM: WINSTON LORD
SUBJECT: Undertakings with the PRC

Attached is a check list of commitments, understandings and undertakings with the Chinese, including when we made them and their present status. All are presently under control and no immediate action is needed.

You will see that the list boils down essentially to the following:

- A series of assurances on our Soviet policy, including equality of treatment, meticulous debriefing, and deflection of pressures.
- Our various assurances on Taiwan policy, as reaffirmed by the President.
- Other miscellaneous understandings, including coordination on South Asian policy, restraint on Japan, confidentiality of our talks with the PRC, and various travel/exchange matters in the Watson channel.

If the President stated our intentions more than once, e.g., on certain aspects of Taiwan policy, I have listed it in each case with a close rendition of his actual wording.

Attachment

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Checklist of Undertakings with the PRC

Soviet Union

<u>Circumstance</u>	<u>Nature of Undertaking</u>	<u>Status</u>
Haig to Chou 1/3/72	US prepared to use resources, as during Indo-Pak crisis, to attempt to neutralize Soviet threats and <u>deter threats against PRC.</u>	White House to monitor
Haig to Chou 1/3/72; RN to Chou, 2/22/72	Prepared unilaterally to provide <u>certain information.</u>	HK gave to Yeh/Chiao on 2/23/72
HK to Yeh/Chiao 2/23/72	Will provide additional information if requested. Will inform them if any drastic changes in information. They are to name channel.	White House to monitor. No action necessary unless/until PRC names channel, requests info, or drastic change occurs. <i>HK ready to give more.</i>
HK to Yeh 2/24/72	HK will check <u>Mongolian</u> information.	CIA memo 3/7/72 confirms accuracy
RN to Chou 2/22/72	After Moscow summit, Dr. <u>Kissinger will report personally to Chou</u> on what was discussed and agreed to.	June trip agreed upon. Date to <i>be</i> set.
RN to Chou 2/23/72	US will <u>oppose</u> any attempt by the <u>Soviet Union</u> to engage in any <u>aggressive action against China.</u>	White House to monitor.
RN/HK to Chou 2/23/72	US will continue to keep PRC current on <u>SALT</u> developments.	Being done in HK channel.
HK to Chiao 2/23/72	US will keep PRC <u>meticulously informed</u> of all significant <u>negotiations</u> and <u>agreements</u> with the Soviet Union. We will inform PRC well in advance on significant negotiations so that if the PRC wishes to comment the US would be prepared to hear its views and take them very seriously.	Being done thru HK channel.

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<u>Circumstances</u>	<u>Nature of Undertaking</u>	<u>Status</u>
HK to Chiao 2/23/72	US will avoid <u>SALT</u> positions which might create pressure against the PRC. US discouraging French move on accidental war.	Being done through HK channel.
HK to Chiao 2/23/72	There will be no US pressure for the PRC to join the <u>Geneva Disarmament Conference</u> .	White House to monitor.
HK to Chiao 2/23/72	General US policy on <u>trade</u> is to place the PRC in the same legal status as the Soviet Union.	Actions taken in Feb. '72 and previously. White House to monitor.
HK to Chiao 2/23/72	HK to provide PRC with complete account of <u>Middle East</u> discussions at Moscow summit as one of the topics to be covered.	White House to monitor.
RN/HK to Chou 2/24/72 <i>We think Soviet figures are on the low side. In any event, hundreds of thousands of Jews wish to leave USSR.</i>	HK to check annual figures of <u>Jewish</u> emigration from the Soviet Union.	<i>Official Soviet figures: 10,000 to Israel last year and 21,000 total.</i> Will check.
RN to Chou 2/25/72	Under no circumstances will the US at the <u>Moscow summit</u> negotiate about or discuss its relations with the PRC without the PRC's knowledge and approval. If the Russians raise the question of PRC intentions, the US will relay Chou's position that the PRC seeks improved relations with the Soviet Union, opposes hegemony, and does not seek collusion.	White House to monitor. We did not discuss PRC in Moscow.
RN to Chou 2/25/72	US policy is not to have the PRC and Soviet Union at odds; US wants good relations with both countries; US welcomes better relations between <u>Moscow and Peking</u> .	White House to monitor.
HK to Huang Hua 3/14/72	<u>Third city for Soviet Union trip</u> will not be east of Urals.	" <i>done</i>
"	US is prepared to make any <u>agreement</u> with the <u>PRC</u> that it makes with the Soviet Union.	"

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Taiwan

<u>Circumstances</u>	<u>Nature of Undertaking</u>	<u>Status</u>
RN to Chou 2/22/72	There will be no US statements that the <u>status of Taiwan</u> is undetermined.	White House monitor
"	US will not support any <u>Taiwan independence movement</u> .	"
"	US, to the extent we are able, will use our influence to discourage <u>Japan</u> from moving into Taiwan as our presence diminishes.	"
"	US will support any <u>peaceful resolution</u> of the Taiwan issue that can be worked out and will not support any military attempt by the ROC to return to the mainland.	"
"	US seeks <u>normalization of relations</u> with the PRC and will work toward that goal.	"
"	The <u>two-thirds</u> of our <u>forces</u> on Taiwan which are related to Southeast Asia will be removed as the problem in Southeast Asia is resolved.	"
"	The reduction of the remaining <u>one-third</u> of our forces will go forward as progress is made on the peaceful resolution of the problem.	"
RN to Chou 2/24/72	As Vietnam is concluded one way or another, the <u>two-thirds of US forces</u> related to the war will be withdrawn. US will also move to reduce the remaining one-third as the US-PRC relationship develops.	"
"	<u>Two-thirds of US forces</u> will go hopefully as soon as we can finish Vietnam involvement and RN plan is also to reduce and withdraw other one-third during the period he has the power to act, i. e. , over the four additional years.	"

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<u>Circumstances</u>	<u>Nature of Undertaking</u>	<u>Status</u>
RN to Chou 2/24/72	US to move toward <u>normalization of relations</u> . No secret timetable can be fixed. If RN reelected he has five years to achieve his goal and will move toward it.	White House to monitor
"	US will discourage <u>Japanese forces</u> from going into Taiwan after US forces leave.	"
"	No American personnel or agencies, directly or indirectly, will give any en- couragement or support to the <u>Taiwan Independence Movement</u> , in the US or elsewhere. If the PRC gives us any information on this the US will act to stop US-related activity.	"
<u>South Asia</u>		
RN to Chou 2/23/72 & 2/24/72	US will inform PRC in advance of recognizing <u>Bangladesh</u> .	HK told Huang Hua 3/14/72 that recognition is planned for first week in April. <i>done</i>
HK to Huang Hua 3/14/72	White House has not informed bureaucracy about <u>Bangladesh</u> recognition and will entertain any PRC views on <u>timing</u> .	White House to keep plans secret for time being. <i>done</i>
RN to Chou 2/23/72	US will provide some <u>economic assist- ance to West Pakistan</u> .	White House to monitor. <i>being done</i>

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Korea

<u>Circumstances</u>	<u>Nature of Undertaking</u>	<u>Status</u>
RN to Chou 2/23/72	To the extent possible, the US will discourage <u>Japan</u> from any military intervention in Korea.	White House to monitor
RN to Chou 2/24/72	The US will use its influence to discourage <u>Japanese intervention</u> in Korea.	" ↑ HK did this on Japan visit, ↓ White House to monitor
RN to Chou 2/23/72	US will restrain to the extent we can the Japanese from going from economic expansion to <u>military expansion</u> , but can only do so if we have close relations with them.	White House to monitor
RN/HK to Chou 2/24/72	The US and the PRC should confidentially inform each other of <u>talks with Japan</u> .	" HK ready to do.

Miscellaneous

RN to Chou 2/22/72	<u>Transcripts</u> of White House conversations with the Chinese will be seen only by RN, HK, General Haig, Holdridge and Lord. Bureaucracy will get an accounting of those matters which can be generally discussed and require bureaucratic implementation.	Transcripts kept in White House files.
RN to Chou 2/23/72	US will use influence to prevent <u>Japanese</u> or <u>Indian attacks</u> against China.	White House to monitor
RN to Chou 2/23/72	If RN reelected, he will <u>keep HK</u> .	To be decided in November.
"	US ready to cooperate on <u>cancer research</u> and will make available all the resources of NIH to other countries.	White House to monitor.

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<u>Circumstances</u>	<u>Nature of Undertaking</u>	<u>Status</u>
RN/HK to Chou 2/28/72	US will do nothing to embarrass the PRC by implication or otherwise about <u>sensitive subjects</u> discussed, such as the Soviet Union, India and Japan. The US will take every precaution to knock down stories that are inaccurate or in violation of understandings on privacy. The US will maintain discipline in the bureaucracy. The US will keep references to such subjects as Japan and India within the bounds of the Communique.	White House to monitor.
"	The US will check allegations that the US <u>bombed North Vietnam</u> during China trip.	US conducted protective reaction only. (Lavelle?)
HK to Huang Hua 3/14/72	The White House will support and monitor complete investigation of <u>poisoning incident</u> in New York and will involve the FBI.	Bush, Rockefeller, and Hoover contacted White House to monitor.
HK to Huang Hua 3/14/72	HK will include Ambassador <u>Bush</u> in meetings only when UN matters are being discussed.	White House to control.
HK to Huang Hua 3/14/72	Original <u>Scott/Mansfield</u> letter to be delivered through Watson, and trip details discussed in Paris.	Letter pouched to Paris and Watson instructed to handle matter <i>done</i>
"	US will submit Albert letter for <u>Boggs/Ford</u> about one week later-- letter will be pouched to Watson week of 3/20/72.	White House handling. <i>done</i>
"	Most <u>visa problems</u> to be handled at nearest PRC embassy, i.e. usually Ottawa, with HK weighing in occasionally through Watson or HK channel.	State/Watson will be informed by the Chinese, and White House to monitor. <i>done</i>

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<u>Circumstances</u>	<u>Nature of Understanding</u>	<u>Status</u>
HK to Huang Hua 3/14/72	US to raise PRC <u>table tennis</u> visit in Paris.	Instructions sent to Watson. <i>done</i>
"	US will not increase <u>military operations</u> over North Vietnam unless there is a North Vietnamese offensive.	White House to monitor. <i>done</i>

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